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of Sovereign Russia. We have created that situation. The Polish military excursion into Russia was a mistake, for it strengthened immeasurably the forces of Lenin. Our military assistance to Poland has generated an ill will against us, an ill will that is significant, for there are nearly two hundred millions of people in Russia. It is possible that we might have helped the friends of the Constituent Assembly had we gone about it immediately following the armistice. That time has passed. As soon as it appeared that such assistance was impracticable we should have withdrawn from Russia and from all attempts to coerce her by force of arms. The fate of Russia should have been left in the hands of the Russian people. The blockade should have been removed, trade relations with Russian people should have been opened, and, when a government had been established by the will of the people, that government should have been recognized. That should have been the policy then—we are of the opinion that it should be the policy now. We do not believe that there is any danger of a reappearance of an Imperial Russia. We are of the opinion that the provinces of that vast country are destined to become members of a Russian federation and that those parts are to maintain both their freedom and sovereignty. The right of self-determination will be insisted upon by Russia as a whole and by each of its parts in turn. We believe these things. But whether or not such is to be the outcome of events in that great country, we are quite convinced that nothing is to be gained by the meddling policy pursued toward that land since November 11, 1918. We may not approve of the Soviet domination of the Russian press, of the party dictatorship, or the attitude of the men in power toward the co-operative unions, of all the wild idealisms; but it is not our business to run the affairs of Russia. We should remember that Russia has a right to exist in her own way so long as she commits no unlawful acts against us. She has a right to set up any form of government she chooses, as long as she does not interfere with our rights. She has the right to the exclusive control over her own territory and over all persons within that territory. It is our duty to respect and, if need be, to protect Russia in those rights. Had we remembered these simple, fundamental principles, when about the business of trying to end the war and establish permanent world peace, the people of Russia would have long since taken control of their own affairs and, we doubt not, established, through some form of Constituent Assembly, a Russian Government which we could have recognized and done business with long since.

But the point here is that under the principle of self-determination there is one way for Russia to take her place again in the society of nations; that is, for the

Russian people to take hold of Russian affairs and control them. In the meantime our course is plain: leave Russian affairs to the Russians.

A HISTORY OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF PARIS

MEN interested in a governed world are trying to organize an "Institute of International Affairs" which, as Lord Grey has remarked, should do for today what history attempts to do for the past—collect materials, show the relation and perspective of events, together with their value. The British section of the institute, having in mind these aims, has already issued Volume I of "A History of the Peace Conference of Paris," edited by H. W. V. Temperley, published by Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, Hodder and Stoughton. The price of the volume is forty-two shillings net.

This first volume is encouraging. The contributors are Englishmen and Americans, most of them present at the Paris Conference, all of them with exact information of the events with which they deal. They have given to us what seems to be an impartial record; yet it is a record that reveals, with no little success, the spirit of that historic series of conferences and decisions, beginning in the early days of December, 1918. It is not a work of special pleading for the Treaty of Versailles, yet it treats the Paris Conference as an honest and a constructive experiment in the interest of a promising international organization. It is a fact that the work is that of men close to the events which they describe. How true, therefore, the perspective may be remains for future historians to discover; for, as a London critic discriminatingly expresses it:

"Much must long remain obscure as to the inner history of the conference. We know from the letters of Gentz more about the motives of the chief actors in the Vienna Congress than the protocols tell us. The communications of Talleyrand to the French court give an insight into the course of events and passions of the actors not to be gathered from diplomatic verbiage. Only when the dispatches and letters of Castlereagh, Humboldt, Wellington, and Hardenberg saw the light were we fully aware of the jealousies, petty ambitions, and personal rivalries which counted for so much in 1815. Some day we shall read the private letters of the chief actors in the recent great drama; and there we shall find the *vrai verité* without the alloy always present in official documents or in memoirs written for purposes of self-exculpation or incrimination."

This first volume seems to be a fair and accurate description of the organization of the conference and the actual work of the groups composing it, giving to us a picture of the end of the war, the crises in Germany, the negotiations ending in the armistice. It gives also

the foundation in law of the international relations just before the signing of the treaties of peace.

The treaties, such as those with Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria, are, we understand, to be treated in three succeeding volumes. A fifth and the last volume will deal with the settlement with Turkey and general conclusions relating to the treaties collectively.

Valuable as this little book is, our opinion is that the time is upon us when we should have a larger and completer series of volumes setting forth substantially all of the facts pertinent to the Conference in Paris. These facts are easily available, each of the foreign offices, at least of the Big Four, possessing them. They are surely in the State Department at Washington. They should be arranged, edited, and printed at once for the use of our libraries. They should be accessible to the people of America, especially at this time when men and women are trying to decide intelligently whom they should support as the next President of the United States. The social and economical revolution following inevitably upon the war would be influenced by the exact information still hidden in the archives. Out of such a revelation it would be possible for us to learn more of the origin of the war, of those fateful events in Bavaria, the Balkans, in Russia, back there in 1914. The newspapers at the time of the conference told us of the organization of the conference of the council of ten and the merging of the legal with the actual power; of the failure of the small States; of the six perfunctory plenary conferences; of the council of five, reduced first to four, and then to three; of the complete secrecy; of the suspicions and ill will; of the wasted work of the various commissions; of the devitalizing compromises; of the decisions accepted and reversed; of the failure to use the expert knowledge generously assembled at Paris; of the failure to remember the tragic weaknesses of the Congress of Vienna; of the selfishness everywhere; of the bulldozing of the weak by the strong; of the intrigues and heart-burnings. By relating these facts the book adds little to the common knowledge furnished by newspaper correspondents at the time to the world at large; but its treatment of reparations and restitutions, of the relation between the terms of the agreement before the armistice and subsequent events, is helpful and illuminating. Its documents and sketch maps, its refusal to promote any special policy, while evidently believing in some form of permanent international organization, gives to this first volume a scholarly quality quite reassuring and promising.

There cannot be too much publicity about this continuing chapter in history, some of the later sections of which are even more lurid and quite as portentous as were written in 1914. There is basis for the demand that there be "publicity about publicity."

FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN ENGLAND AND AMERICA

BE THEY politicians or be they embodiments of high-strung empty-headedness, we render no service by attempting to alienate Great Britain and the United States. We may have differences, we may have irritations; but fundamentally the major portion of the sons of America are the sons of Britain. It may be an easy way for hungry politicians to feed their appetites for expression, without doing violence to any local interest, to twist the lion's tail; but it is an old, old subterfuge and outgrown on its face. Whatever the motives, it is true that the portion of our citizenship of German descent has not been so vocal against Great Britain as have some of our Anglo-Saxon stocks. If differences arise they should be settled in accordance with the principles of right; but it is cheap and tawdry to perpetuate, by innuendo or direct flings, animosities between the two great English-speaking peoples of the world.

It is a pleasure, therefore, to recall two recent events affecting the relations of Britain and America. There is, first, the conference of British and American professors of English—a conference between a score of delegates from various universities of the United States, including Yale, Harvard, Columbia, and Chicago, and some hundred of British university professors. Such a conference must be helpful. As the *London Times* expresses it: "The precise outcome, except an accession of friendship, it would be difficult to formulate. But there should be some definite, though perhaps temporarily intangible, effect on the language. The Americans will certainly take with them, for the ultimate benefit of their students, an increased perception of our literary and linguistic ideals, while the Englishmen can hardly avoid enlightenment on the ideals of America." The *Times* adds pertinently: "Both have much to learn from one another; and it is a pity the ordinary men of both countries cannot come together in like fashion, to assimilate the varieties of English; for the language depends ultimately on the ordinary men."

The other and more deeply significant event was the funeral service of Major-General William C. Gorgas, of the United States Army, in Saint Paul's Cathedral, July 9. That funeral service under the direction, most appropriately, of the British Ministry of Health, was an expression of the fundamental respect and friendship existing between this and the mother country. To quote again from the *London Times*: "With silent respect the people watched the military procession that escorted the coffin to Saint Paul's, while in the cathedral assembled a congregation representative of the Empire, the two Americas and the continent, and of many interests in all of them. It is no new thing for